1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. 585 If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin,
[584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances
[584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relatives might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was
591 ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sisyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Sometimes would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy; we
[581] want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then
585 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck-
591 skin, meat, corn, pi'on nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own home. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If
592 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

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informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

In one plural marriage for which there is definite information Masakadja had already married Gwegwe6gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe6gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of arbitrary separation. Wa'kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Tcikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 302.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Tcikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 584

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*ptă'igtĕăstĕăj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. 595

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be mutually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [459] [586] [837]

> When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] 1881.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

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582 Smiley, Jess' paternal grandfather, Watahomidja's father-in-law and Arthur's father,
648 wanted to go hunting: I went along with them up the Moki trail. We went on and on until we were near ahdgitävtdidjä (Dripping Springs, near Grand Canyon Station). That night we had a little snowstorm. Next morning there was snow on the ground when we went out to hunt. We found tracks where someone had been walking along in the snow; we followed the tracks, and after a little way found the person. It was a Navaho woman. Our people talked to the woman in the Navaho language; "Are you all alone, or are there other Navaho camping near from whom you have strayed?" The Navaho woman said, "I am just by myself: no Navaho are camped near here. I just came by myself from a long way back there. I come from northeast of San Francisco Mountain." There were more Navaho over there with whom this woman had been living. They had told her that her relatives were living along the rim near Grand Canyon Station and Dripping Springs. "I wanted to see them; that is why I came to look around," she said. "I looked around here but I have seen no one as yet, only you people who found me."

We took the woman over to where we were encamped and told her, "Do not be afraid of us and do not go away. Stay with us. While we are hunting about stay at the camp and do some cooking, such as boiling deer meat; get it ready, so that when we get back home we can eat it." She was pretty good at cooking and boiling deer meat and she remained there as she was bidden. When we found her she had no matches or firedrill. We saw that she had taken cedarbark and rubbed it soft and rolled it into a long thin roll, about two meters long, binding it with sagewoods. She coiled this slow match up and set fire to one end of it, carrying a little fire that way.

The Havasupai asked, "Where is your camp? Show us where that place is." She said, "All right," and she went ahead with the Havasupai following. She went to the edge of the canyon directly above Dripping Springs, and we saw where she had built a nice little house. She had nothing there; no bed or anything at all. We asked her, "What things have you been eating?" She said, "I have no provisions to eat at all." At that time there was snow on the ground and when she saw rabbit tracks, she tracked them. When a rabbit went into a hollow log, she thrust a long thin stick, pointed and barbed, which she carried, into the log and twisting it into the rabbit's fur, pulled it out. Then she roasted it. "That is what I did in order to eat," she said.

The Navaho woman showed us where she had camped and then we went back to our camp. Next morning we went out to hunt and caught two more deer. The following morning we started home. My father said, "I am the man who is going to have that Navaho girl. I will lend her my horse to ride." Everything was packed on that horse, and the girl rode it. We put no bridle on the horse; we just tied a long rope around his neck, so that my father, now dead, could lead it, and we started home. That is how we led it along and brought her down home.

After we brought her home up there in the canyon, where there were a lot of men and women, everyone gathered to look at her. We said, "We found a Navaho girl, who was lost in the woods." Everyone looked at the girl and was friendly to her. That girl was afraid of our people and she cried, so we said to her, "Do not cry; they will all be good to you and will treat you well. They will give you plenty to eat." My father took this girl for his wife, and kept her for a pretty long time, I do not know how many, maybe five years. She had no children and then she just ran away.

582 Some Hopi men came down here and they told her the road by which they had
586 come. The Hopi told her they wanted her to go back to her home. "You go on
648

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. Then my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjidja*, your mother, *mamádjintha*, your father, or *kuwápitum*, your parents (*kuwápa*, two). A man uses *gíngipi* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wingipi* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gíngipi* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors: this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

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That was one phase of the situation the Great Father had not thought out; neither had I. The old wife and her children would be the ones to go, and she had borne her share of trouble. I told him to keep both families, and give them equal care. I did not report his case to Washington, nor did I seek advice as to the best method for disposing of surplus wives and children.

The Indians said that Manakadja had first married the older woman, a member of his tribe. Years later, while camped on a mesa, he met a young Paiute woman whom he wanted for his wife. Whether the Paiute girl objected to sharing his affections with another or whether he had tired of the "old wife," he discarded her. Later, they were reconciled and he established homes for the two women in the same dooryard.

Leslie Spier relates a story,* told him by Sinyella, the elderly tribesman, which helped me realize that not all broken marriages involved the heartache I had imagined.

While hunting on the mesa, Sinyella's father met a young Navaho woman, living in a brush shelter of her own contriving. She must have been a venturesome girl to have walked across the snow-covered desert from "away back there" to her camp site, searching for Navaho relatives whom she had heard were camped in this region. The girl had anticipated her need for a campfire by carrying the Indian's "slow match." This was made by rubbing cedar bark until soft and pliable, binding it with yucca leaves into a slender rope, and igniting one end. The rope was carried in a loose coil. By blowing on the smoldering end, fire could easily be lighted.

Sinyella's father wanted the girl and took her to his home as his wife. Years later, some Hopi men came into the canyon to trade. The woman slipped away to the Hopi village and became the wife of one of the visiting men. Her Havasupai husband followed, demanding her return. When the Hopi man refused to let the woman go, Sinyella's father stated his alternative: "You must give me something; then you can have her." The "some-

* *Havasupai Ethnography*, American Museum of Natural History.

2:Iliff Y-S (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bride-[591] groom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile. 585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife. [591] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to 593 sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often — even, also, as white young people do — they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter. [586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple.

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded.

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three

six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi). When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives.

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time.

Children of Divorced Parents

●586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of fatherhood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference. [587]

Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry. At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them remained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, public opinion supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways) 586 593 [587] [428] [787]

In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual, said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of 586

small children. It was whispered at the time that her father no longer 586
wanted her.

In the third divorce, the wife left her first husband to marry his younger brother, and these three individuals have continued to associate and cooperate in a manner which would have been improbable had not the two men been brothers. The ex-husband undoubtedly has had closer association with his children than would have been likely under other circumstances. He has not remarried. His adult son, also divorced, now spends some time with him.

In another divorce, that of the son mentioned above, which was precipi- 586
tated by an affair the wife had with another man, the four children divided 603
their time between their two grandmothers. The paternal grandmother was particularly attached to the youngest child, a girl of two years, and refused to let the mother have her except for short periods of time. The eldest child liked to divide her time between her two grandmothers for in each camp was an aunt near her own age. The second girl preferred her maternal grandmother, whereas the boy was almost as favored by his paternal grandmother as was the two-year-old girl. These two children also divided their residence between the grandmothers, each one, however, spending a larger share of time with the favored grandmother. When the mother remarried about a year later, she took the three older children and an illegitimate baby, born between marriages, to live with their stepfather. The paternal grandmother still refused to part with the youngest child. She takes this little girl wherever she goes, regardless of the residence of the child's father, who spends part of his time away working.

In the three remaining instances of divorce involving children, the 586
mothers have clear custody of all the children, but the fathers visit their children; and the children are free to visit their fathers and their paternal relatives, sometimes for rather extended periods. It has not been possible to determine, in these cases, whether or not friction exists between the divorced parents over custody or other problems pertaining to the children, but such disagreement as may occur appears, on the surface, to be of minor significance.

Children of divorced parents apparently are seldom rejected by either parent. Undoubtedly there is some loss of security when the home is broken, but it may be hazarded that trauma is less severe than that suffered by white children of divorce. The Havasupai child very seldom is deprived of association with either parent. Nearly always the child remains in fairly close or regular association with one parent, and visits the other occasionally. As he grows older, he is permitted considerable freedom in choosing his residence with either parent, and in addition, he has a number of close associations with grandparents and other relatives. The absence of a legal battle and formal legal arrangements concerning the child no doubt permit a minimum of emotional stress for the child at the time of divorce. In certain instances a child may suffer when the parents or other relatives vie to

● 586 obtain custody of him (not in the legal sense). In general, however, a cooperative attitude between the parents prevails, especially after the initial bitterness which led to divorce has mellowed.

Care of Orphans

736 An orphan may be cared for by either set of grandparents. If a large family of children loses both parents, the children may be divided among a number of relatives. Sometimes, an orphan has no permanent home, going wherever he finds temporary welcome. The residence rule, the order in which the parents die, kinship category, and economic situation of surviving relatives, and attitude of relatives toward assuming responsibility for the children, are some of the factors which determine an orphan's future residence.

[768] If residence has been patrilocal, paternal relatives may desire to keep with them children to whom they are attached. A widow and her children customarily return to her father's home, for she seldom inherits land from her husband. If a widow dies after returning to the home of her parents, the children may remain with the maternal grandparents. However, such cases seem to be settled on an individual basis, rather than in accordance with a set pattern.

736 In one example, the father preceded the mother in death by about eight
768 months. The widow and children abandoned their own home to live at the camp of the widow's parents, adding seven persons to an extended family which included 11 permanent members and several semipermanent residents. Upon the widow's death, two or three of her children remained with her parents, while the others went to live temporarily with other maternal relatives, two of whom were only distantly related to the children. In this instance, there were no close paternal relatives, and the maternal grandparents were crowded and economically pressed. A few years later when the oldest boy had married, the younger children, with the exception of the youngest child, lived with him during school vacations. The girl, who was the exception, had been taken for a time by a white family, but tribal sentiment opposed adoption outside the tribe, so that she was given, at least temporarily, to her uncle.

736 If there are no lineal grandparents living, the children may be cared for by another "grandparent" who is a sibling of a lineal grandparent. Two examples of this in previous years were recorded, each involving several children. In both instances the children had been closely associated with these collineal "grandparents" from early childhood.

Relatives of orphans usually show them special sympathy and consideration following their bereavement. There is little doubt, however, that some

garding the marital status of the couple involved. Further, trial marriages lack stability; a rather large number of them are terminated after a few months. However, they are based on mutual interest, desire for possible permanent association, sexual relations (generally mutually exclusive during this period), and sometimes by common residence. While a trial marriage ending in separation tends to be discounted by the couple involved, they generally will admit that, at the time, they considered themselves married. 582 [586]

Two recent cases will serve to illustrate trial marriage in practice. In the first example, a couple began courting when the girl was about 13, but her maternal grandparents, who had reared her, objected that she was too young for marriage. (Perhaps of more significance than the girl's age, however, was the strained relationship between her grandparents and her boy friend's mother arising from an earlier conflict involving the boy's mother and the girl's maternal aunt, married to the boy's older brother. That problem ultimately had been resolved by termination of patrilocal residence. Since the young man was the only son remaining at home to help his widowed mother, the girl's grandparents, mindful of their daughter's former unhappiness, probably were reluctant to yield their granddaughter to almost certain patrilocal residence with this same mother-in-law.)

However, despite family opposition, the couple continued their mutual interest for about two years. When the girl was barely 14, the pair started on horseback to be married outside the reservation, but the girl's relatives overtook them and halted the elopement. Opposition to the union continued, but shortly thereafter the young man began to spend some nights with his girl at her camp. Her grandparents had not changed their view and continued to oppose the marriage. However, by the following summer, the couple was in matrilocal residence and the groom was observed doing some work for his wife's grandfather. Shortly thereafter the couple had a baby and moved to the young man's camp. Thus, serious, or secondary courtship was carried on for two years while the girl was in early adolescence, and trial marriage dated from the time the youth openly began to spend nights at her home. During the latter period I asked the young man's mother if the couple were married. She replied in an uncertain tone and with a thoughtful countenance, "I don't know. My boy don't say nothing to me yet about him married." Some months later, active family opposition ceased and the marriage was seemingly privately acknowledged and publicly recognized.

In a second case, a boy and girl who had been engaged in a clandestine affair for some time were staying temporarily with respective relatives at Grand Canyon while employed there. When they simultaneously ceased sleeping at their relatives' camps, it was assumed that they were staying together elsewhere. Flaunting Havasupai convention, they spent their daytime leisure together publicly, not bothering to disguise their mutual interest. Although the girl's parents privately disapproved of the boy as a son- [626]

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[845] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[582] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
589 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[582] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[582] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[183] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

585 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he
586 didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those
times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for
the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nontarmal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage
589 both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and
178 influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual
177 acceptance, was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Navasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and [586] duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 324) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 324).

●[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

Now polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1951, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1948), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related. 582

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there were only nine unmarried women over the age of 30. Two of them, both under 35 had never been married. One of these two apparently made no sexual alliances, and was unusually shy and withdrawn; she might have considered Havasupai men ineligible, inasmuch as she was reputed to be a devout Christian. The other woman, who in 1955 appeared to be too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects, and who was economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men, married after that time to a man equal in education and eight years her senior. 589

Two of the nine women mentioned above were divorced. One of these has had three sons, living in patrilocal residence, to care for her, and the other, divorced for barrenness, might have had a difficult time remarrying. (However, it should be noted that two younger women, divorced for the same reason, have remarried.) [516]

The remaining five women were widows. The youngest, age 44, had been alone only three years. The next youngest, age 48 was regarded as a continuous trouble maker, and some informants said that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows were 53, 57, and 86; all of them had close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population 18 men over 30 years of age were unmarried. This number included six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who had never been married, two of whom were considered "odd," while another was blind. Two of the 18 men were under 35 years of age. Seven were between 30 and 45, and the remaining 11 were between 53 and 80. Nine of the 18 lived alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently had no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all male households and some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they might live alone or with relatives.

Regarding the 1955 population as the present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all 27 individuals from marriage. It appears, instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men 162 589

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
429 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 334) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 937 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [597]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 238) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason. "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 238) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

586 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who
595 had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she
842 wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces
582 among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier
[114] remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear
586 much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes,
842 and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren.
[595] One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy.
[165] A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman,
[586] still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the
587 present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and
842

three divorced hairven women have remarried. One of the latter was re- 586
united with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separa- 587
tion, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the 842
child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them hillers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced.

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considera- 593
tions in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's 581
skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses.

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action [562]
which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband.

The attitudes of ambivalency previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
978 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stepped me and petted my children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got [586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

468 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the camp work at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the [586] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
961 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

859 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In [177] [575] the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

546 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [857] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-35 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

586 562 [177] A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 [423] Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 648 [439] While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

[582] [177] In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The extreme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

THE HAVASUPAI

The other men may work their undivided fields with the assistance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family until he breaks away to return to his father's house. 393 391

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family. 421 561 784

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Waichomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock. 424 [177] 423 424

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a man who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief. 424 [424]

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 177 [393] 532 554

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidja*, your mother, *mamadjitatka*, your father, or *hanagatam*, your parents. The word *gingeya* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them. 401 424

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although some marry in three or four months. 177 746 745

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed. 242 [243]

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back. 552 554 [554]

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

177 511 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis [577] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom- [578] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 [962] 525 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of spare time activities or additional specialization. In the best of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before [977] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 [512] While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

515 517 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

611 614 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the absence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineously being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Paternal systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but [582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con- ● [586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with the men, as a cause. Betrothals by [584] purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as, [582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-